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London in the Peasants' Revolt:

A Portrait Gallery

ANDREW PRESCOTT

G. K. CHESTERTON felt that history was 'written against the people'. It ignored 'that enormous audience which must always sit in darkness throughout the drama'. He consequently welcomed the Peasants' Revolt as the moment when the real English people overwhelmed the lighted stage of history. He was convinced that it would have been the best possible thing for all of us if Wat Tyler had prevailed in 1381.[1] It is, however, difficult to perceive from such an event the character and aspirations of the common people. It is natural to view revolutionary crowds as an abstract and impersonal force. Commentators readily impose generalised labels on them, which often reflect their own social and moral preoccupations. Such tendencies have bedevilled writing on the French revolution.[2] Taine stigmatised the attackers of the Bastille as savages and ragamuffins, the dregs of society. For Michelet, they were 'le peuple, le peuple tout entier', the hand of providence and virtue. Accounts of the Gordon riots in London in 1780 display similar features.[3] Walpole depicted the rioters as an anonymous rabble of 'apprentices, convicts and all kinds of desperadoes'. His view was accepted until an analysis of judicial records revealed the variety of the insurgents' backgrounds. They were drawn from every section of London's working population and included many sober workmen possessing testimonials of good character. It is essential to remember that a revolutionary crowd is 'an aggregate of men and women of flesh and blood', not a 'disembodied abstraction'. This has been repeatedly demonstrated by Professor Rudé. The Peasants' Revolt of 600 years ago should be approached in this spirit.

Chronicles and judicial records

Contemporary chronicles portray the insurgents of 1381 as a faceless murderous mob.[4] The authors of these accounts were frightened men, who largely shared Gower's view of the rebels as madmen who 'thirsted for blood more than a fish for water'.[5] Even the relatively sympathetic Anonimalle chronicle refers baldly to 'the commons'. The structure of their narratives further obscures the rebel mentality. The concentrate on the most spectacular incidents, such as the burning of John of Gaunt's Savoy palace and the murders of the chancellor, Archbishop Sudbury, and the treasurer, Hales. These events give a vague insight into the concerns of the rebels, indicating no more than a hatred of the political establishment. In order to define the insurgents' preoccupations more precisely, it is necessary to know about their more obscure victims. The chroniclers do not describe clearly the components of the rebel company. They refer to the men of Kent and Essex or the poor commons of London, and disagree about, say, the role of the Londoners in the sack of the Savoy.[6] Their characterisation of rebel leaders is unhelpful. The identification of some of them, particularly Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, is occasionally confused.[7] Fictitious speeches are attributed to them. The chronicles contradict each other over the relationship between the leaders and their men. Froissart hints that Wat Tyler was the spokesman of a radical wing,[8] while the Anonimalle chronicle emphasises the solidarity of the whole force under his captaincy.[9] In this context, it is difficult to

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interpret the chronicles' accounts of such expression of rebel opinion as the demands at Mile End. To give a more human touch to this story, less vivid and personal records must be used. As in the Gordon riots, the judicial records are indispensable in this respect.[10]

Special commissions were extensively used to suppress the disturbances and punish the rebels. In London, a commission headed by the mayor, Walworth, was active two days after Wat Tyler's death.[11] The records of this commission have not survived, but some of those indicted before it were outlawed in the court of husting and their names recorded there.[12] The aldermen notified the commission of rebels in their wards and their returns were copied on the plea and memoranda rolls.[13] These rolls also contain notes of prisoners released on bail by the commission and of others bound over to keep the peace.[14] The King's Bench evoked some cases from Walworth's commission. It also took its own indictments from Middlesex juries. Details of these charges were usually entered on the rolls of the King's Bench only when the defendant appeared to answer them. Accusations which did not proceed as far as trial are nevertheless found on the files of the King's Bench. Pardons often describe the charges made against their recipients. When a general amnesty was granted to the rebels, about 150 Londoners were excluded from its benefits and their names set down in the parliament rolls.[15] Finally, many rebels were prosecuted privately for trespass. These actions pinpoint small and otherwise unrecorded affrays. They also provide massive lists of rebels. Three actions by John of Gaunt, for example, name nearly 500 of the assailants of the Savoy.[16] These records, however, pose far more intricate problems of interpretation than the chronicles.

They provide information of uneven quality. The lists of outlaws in husting do not reveal the extent of an individual's involvement in the uprising. The details of bails and sureties present a similar difficulty. Some of them were not made until August and October, and may reflect unrest in the wake of the revolt rather than participation in the events of June. The indictments of Middlesex juries in King's Bench tend to concentrate on the destruction of the Savoy and Clerkenwell priory to the exclusion of other misdeeds of the defendant.[17] The relationship between the different records is often obscure. The list of men excluded from the amnesty was compiled partly from the aldermen's returns and from the outlawries in husting. The method by which names were selected from these sources is not apparent. The names of rebels in private prosecutions were sometimes taken from other trespass actions and from indictments.[18] Such borrowings were haphazard and are difficult to spot.

Proceedings against the rebels were widely abused. Five aldermen were alleged to have allowed the men of Kent into London. They had been falsely accused by their opponents in the City and were acquitted after their party had regained the ascendancy in civic government.[19] In Hertfordshire, there was an attempt to make a murder committed in December 1381 appear more serious by claiming that it happened during the revolt.[20] Many pardons state that their beneficiary had been indicted because of the influence of their enemies. These spurious accusations even affected exclusions from the amnesty, so that these are not a safe guide to hardcore rebels.[21] Large numbers had been forced to join the rising under threat of death. There were so many conscript rebels that it was enacted that a defendant in a trespass suit would be acquitted if four men swore that he had been compelled to join the insurgents.[22] Even if an accusation of rebellion is reliable, it cannot be assumed that the defendant was a willing participant in the disturbances. The records give little help in counteracting these shortcomings. No detailed legal discussion was enrolled in treason and felony cases, and reasons for acquittal were not specified. A man

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might purchase a pardon as protection against false accusations rather than because he was guilty.

Four precautions help avoid the worst pitfalls of the legal records. First, it is important to establish the most suitable use of each type of document. Private litigation provides an imposing repertory of rebels, which makes it valuable in analysing the structure and movement of insurgent bands. Indictments can be misleading if used for this purpose, since single indictments were rarely directed against more than a dozen people and there are great hazards in collating them. Indictments are superior to private litigation in depicting rebel behaviour. They can provide vivid circumstantial detail, while the trespass actions are extremely formalised and understated.[23] Second, accusations can be verified to some extent from other independent judicial sources. Indictments against Kent and Essex rebels in London, for example, might be supported by accusations before commissions in those counties. Third, individual involvement is more probable if it fits into a pattern indicated in the records. If many men from one village or trade were accused of insurgency, it is more likely that accusations against an individual amongst them are reliable. The harassment of the London aldermen is a reminder, however, that malicious charges were sometimes made against groups, not just individuals. Finally, the grievances of the rebels may be deduced from a study of their victims. There were fewer fraudulent claims of having been a victim of the insurgents than false accusations that a man had been a rebel. These rules cannot correct all the faults of these records; they allow the veracity of individual accusations to be more carefully appraised. A little of the background and preoccupations of Wat Tyler's followers in London can be reconstructed, and a few 'faces in the crowd' recognised.

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Rebels from Essex and Kent

The 'large multitude of country people' who converged on London can be more clearly identified. This is possible by the use of two extensive sets of private prosecutions. The first is the litigation of John of Gaunt, which has already been mentioned. The second comprises 20 separate actions by John Butterwick, prompted by the burning of his houses at Knightsbridge, Ebury and Westminster on 14 June.[24] The Essex rebels mentioned in them can be divided into three bands. The first came from Manningtree and nearby villages.[25] They included a very prosperous element. Three of them were afterwards described as rich and another had goods worth 400 marks. In subsequent litigation, they were able to acquire the services of Sir Robert Plesington, the chief baron of the Exchequer. They were inspired by the depredations of Thomas Harding in their locality. They marked their departure for London by demolishing one of his outhouses, and, on their return, they organised the destruction of his houses at Manningtree. Harding had manipulated food prices and arranged the avoidance of customs dues. He harassed his neighbours through unfair tactics in litigation and extorted money from them. Some of those who turned on him in 1381 had suffered directly from his racketeering.[26] The men of Manningtree were joined in their march to London by a contingent from Chelmsford, which included some important townsfolk. Two of them served as chief pledges; chief pledges were the ruling élite of Chelmsford. Another was a tax collector in Essex in 1383.[27]

The second Essex band came mostly from North Weald Bassett.[28] The circumstances of their discontent are obscure. Removal of woodland may recently have deprived villagers of supplementary income. The impressment of workmen to erect enclosures may have antagonised local craftsmen.[29] The largest of these three groups was based on

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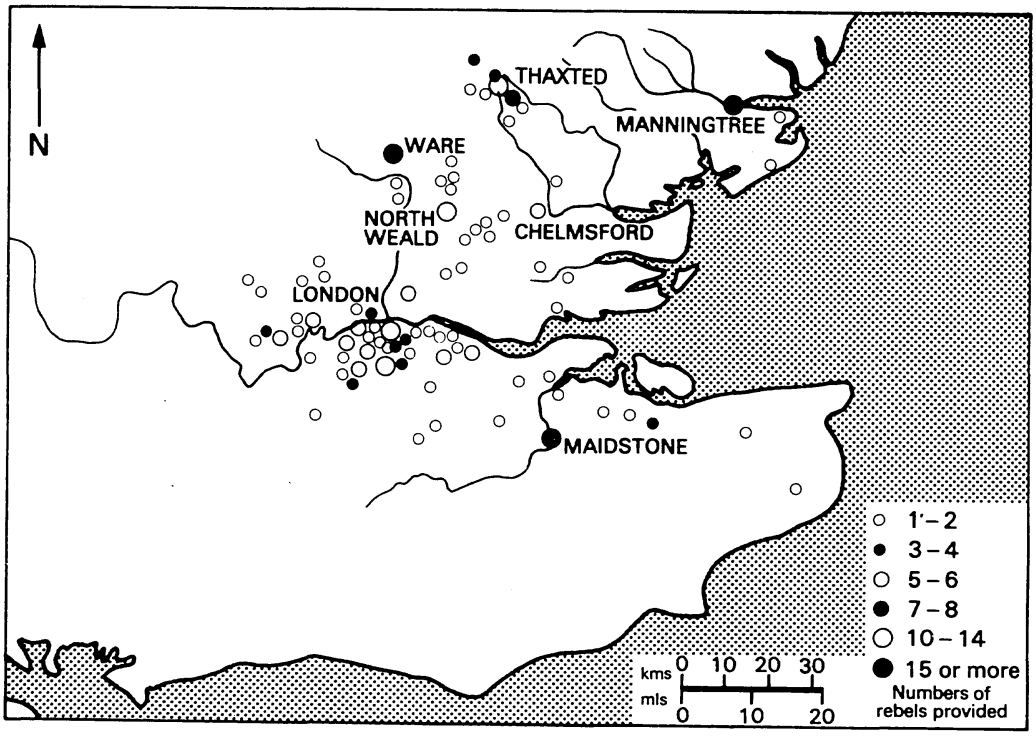

Figure 1. Origins of Rebels from outside London named in the trespass actions of John of Gaunt and John Butterwick.

TABLE 1. *Location of rebels, 1381.*

One rebel:
(Essex)
Billericay
Chigwell
Chipping Ongar
Great Easton
Fobbing
Harlow
Harwich
Great Holland
Latton Bush
Lambourne
Matching
Newport
Norton Heath
Rawreth
Little Sampford
Stondon Massey
Stanford Rivers
Great Waltham
Woodford
(Herts)
Hoddesdon
(Kent)
Canterbury
Cobham
Erith
Lesnes
Knockholt
Plumstead
St Mary Cray
Strood
Teynham
Wrotham
(Middx)
Brentford
Harmondsworth
Hendon
Sudbury
(Surrey)
Esher
Kingston
Merton
Morden
Lambeth
Peckham

Two rebels:
(Essex)
Debden
Navestock
(Herts)
Amwell
Sawbridgeworth
(Kent)
Bredgar (nr Newington)
Crayford
Mottingham
Rochester
Westerham
Woolwich
(Middx)
Edgware
Greenford
Harrow
Pinner
(Surrey)
Camberwell
Kennington

Three rebels:
(Essex)
Wimbish
(Kent)
Charlton
Faversham
Lewisham
(Middx)
Chelsea

Four rebels:
(Essex)
Saffron Walden
(Kent)
Deptford
(Middx)
Hounslow
(Surrey)
Carshalton

Five rebels:
(Middx)
Fulham
Heston
(Surrey)
Wandsworth

Six rebels:
(Essex)
Chelmsford
(Kent)
Dartford
Bexley
(Middx)
Chiswick
(Surrey)
Streatham
Mitcham
Newington (S. Lambeth)

Seven rebels:
Broxted, Essex
Ten rebels:
Thaxted, Essex
Eleven rebels:
North Weald Bassett, Essex
Twelve rebels:
Greenwich, Kent
Fourteen rebels:
Eltham, Kent
Fifteen rebels:
Maidstone, Kent
Seventeen rebels:
Manningtree, Essex
Forty One rebels:
Ware, Hertfordshire

Thaxted and also Ware, over the county border in Hertfordshire.[30] The status of the inhabitants of Thaxted had recently improved. The labour services of the agricultural tenants had diminished. Some had managed to acquire both free and customary land and to lease pieces of the lord's demesne. The rebels included some who had particularly benefited from these trends and who probably hoped to prevent the lords ever taking away any of their gains.[31] Ware had been a trouble spot since the 1350s. It had a long-standing rivalry with Hertford.[32] Hertford had used the Statute of Labourers to attack wage and price levels in Ware. Attempts to enforce the statute in Ware led to riots, with the vicar of Ware and a hermit being indicted for preaching that the statute was wicked.[33] In 1381, a subsequent vicar of Ware led a cross-section of the town's population in rebellion. With the men of Thaxted and some neighbouring villages, they struck at Hertford by attacking John of Gaunt's castle there.[34] This group then marched down the Lea valley to London, where they were prominent in the sack of the Savoy.

The contribution of those parts of Kent not in the immediate vicinity of London was similarly restricted. According to Gaunt's and Butterwick's actions, it was limited largely to men from Rochester, Gravesend, Faversham and Maidstone. These bands from Kent and Essex contained a high proportion of town dwellers. There were incidents of document-burning along the routes they followed to London. The movements of the Ware-Thaxted band were associated with riots in, for example, Sawbridgeworth, Amwell and Cheshunt.[35] The participants in these disturbances were mostly local men, who, on the whole, did not join the march to London. There seems to be a broad contrast between a static rural revolt and more mobile town insurgency. It was the latter which appeared in London.

The most prominent of the Rochester insurgents was Thomas Raven, who represented that city in parliament in 1378.[36] He joined the first 'risings and assemblings' in Kent on 5 June at Dartford, and took an enthusiastic role in the spread of unrest in the county in the next week. As the Kentishmen approached London on 12 June, he participated in the destruction of prisons in Southwark. After the insurgents entered the City, he joined them in the execution of Hales. Departing from Tower Hill, he went to the house of Reginald Allen, a grocer, and forced Allen to return a bond by which he was heavily indebted to him. Raven's misdeeds are well attested. He was indicted before commissions in both Kent and London and denounced by an approver. He may have been compelled to join the rising. If, however, he had been a reluctant rebel, it is unlikely that he would have exploited the disorders to his own advantage and then waited until 1384 to obtain a pardon.[37]

An order of 1380 complained that deserting soldiers had concealed themselves in Maidstone and Rochester.[38] At least one of the Kentish rebels in London, Thomas Wooton, was apparently such a deserter. Orders issued immediately after the revolt stated that Wooton had received £30 to sail abroad in the king's service. 'Because of certain offences', Wooton had been unable to leave the country, and the sheriff of Kent was commanded to recover the money.[39] Robert Bennett of Barford St John, incarcerated in the King's Bench prison, Southwark, was liberated by the rebels. On recapture, he turned king's evidence and declared that Wooton had led the men who destroyed the prison and compelled the inmates to join the insurgents. Wooton had also forced Bennett to hand over six silver spoons given to him for safekeeping by the wife of Richard Imworth, the keeper of the goal. Such charges could be tried by judicial combat if the defendant wished. Wooton chose this option, was vanquished by Bennett, and drawn and hanged.[40]

The rebels in London included a sizable contingent of masons, some of whom may

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have been impressed for military service. In 1386, the sheriff of Kent was ordered to arrest 12 masons, including Gilbert Stork of Maidstone and Laurence Rockacre of Bursted, who had been accused of insurgency five years earlier.[41] They were to appear before the council and receive wages for the king's service in Calais. They were to sail immediately and stay until 'works needful for avoiding the greater peril' were completed. If they were unhappy about these terms, they were to be imprisoned until further orders.

The bulk of the rebels from outside London lived in the small towns and villages surrounding the city, now part of Greater London. Notable contributions were made by Heston, Hounslow and Chiswick in the west of Middlesex, and Fulham and Chelsea in the east of the county. The Surrey villages of Wandsworth, Streatham, Tooting, Mitcham, Carshalton and (nearer London) Newington were well represented. They joined the rising as the bands from the more remote areas of Kent and Essex approached and entered the City. In north-west Kent, Dartford, Greenwich, Deptford, Lewisham and Eltham were fertile in insurgents. Their relationship to the other bands was more complex. The first trouble in Kent was at Dartford. The rioters moved away towards Maidstone and Canterbury, then returned a week later on their way to London. Some of the insurgents from this locality had been involved in the revolt since its inception, while others took to arms much later.

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Rebels of substance

The rebels from around London had a varied background. Those from north-west Kent included some well-to-do- people. Jordan Bladington, probably from Deptford, belonged to a consortium which in 1382 held North Cray manor.[42] His three partners included Elias Rayner, the escheator of Kent whose records were burnt by the rebels. They had been granted the manor by Nicholas Herring, a justice of the peace and holder of numerous other financial and judicial offices in Kent. Herring was loathed by the rebels, and his house at North Cray was razed by them.[43] John Nash, a Greenwich rebel, was a senior member of the brotherhood of the Holy Cross in the church of St Alphege. In 1377, he arranged the purchase of land by the fraternity to support a chaplain in the church. Amongst the souls to be commemorated by this endowment was John Boyne, presumably related to the Greenwich rebel of the same name.[44] William Spalding must have been a prominent figure in the large company from Eltham. Since 1369, he had been bailiff of the royal manor there, and at various times farmed it. He did not lose his office because of his misdemeanours, but was confirmed in it six months after the revolt.[45]

The social range of these restive neighbours of London is further exemplified by two Surrey villages.[46] The Wandsworth men who helped pillage the Savoy included John Washingham, who in 1378–9 farmed the manor of Battersea from Westminster Abbey.[47] His servant and fellow insurgent Richard Savage had been able to provide an indemnity of ten pounds for lessees of fulling mills on the River Wandle.[48] John Smith's tiling business was of sufficient scale to provide a chancery clerk with 20,000 tiles in 1379.[49] Four of the Tooting Bec insurgents occur in the court rolls of the manor between 1394 and 1419. John Pikestone and Richard Tubbing were amongst the customary tenants with the biggest landholdings. Pikestone served as constable in 1419 and Tubbing as tithing man in 1416.[50] By contrast, the humbler William Hayward is mentioned only as breaking the lord's hedges in 1407,[51] and William Carter appears as a bondsman who absconded from the manor in 1402.[52]

About 25 Southwark insurgents and a dozen from Holborn can be identified in the

judicial records. Most of the Holborn malefactors were poor. The Southwark force was dominated by some of the suburb's leading inhabitants. Three of them (Thomas Torksey, a saddler; John Kent, a cordwainer; and Richard Neville, an innkeeper) were tax collectors there in 1382. Torksey undertook this office once more in 1384 and Neville again in 1398.[53] John Brenchley had the unlikely distinction for a rebel of having collected the third poll tax.[54] John Mocking, a vintner, was one of the most prominent parishioners of St Olave's.[55] His father headed a commission ordered in 1370 to compel the parishioners to repair a broken river bank in the churchyard.[56] Nicholas Mocking, the brother of the rebel, had a distinguished ecclesiastical career. He studied at King's Hall in Cambridge, becoming rector of St Olave's in 1374. He was a royal clerk by 1392, and accrued numerous benefices and sinecures in the church, including those of master of the college of St Lawrence Pountney, sub-dean of Wells and, for a brief spell, treasurer of St Paul's.[57] Another Southwark man, John Ansell, a cordwainer, suffered the ignominy of being attacked by rebels on the same day that he joined in burning the Savoy.[58]

There were close links between these men. They are frequently found together as witnesses to charters and associated in lawsuits.[59] The possibility that they were coerced into accompanying the insurgents cannot be entirely discounted. It would have been difficult, however, to single out this sizeable and socially cogent group and intimidate them all. Moreover, because of the economic and administrative friction between London and Southwark, these 'good men' may have welcomed disorder in the City. Their appearance amongst the 'domineering rustics' may partly explain the decision of the keepers of London Bridge to lower the drawbridge and admit them to the City.

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Londoners in rebellion

The legal records suggest that the rebels descending on London were of restricted provenance and did not amount to the countless companies dramatically portrayed in the chronicles. This underlines the extent of London's own contribution to their numbers. The majority of the troublemakers in the City lived in London itself. Many were doubtless from 'the poor, the unskilled, the semi-skilled and unemployed' classes of London society.[60] They are difficult to pick out from the records and it is impossible to discover much about their lives. The exclusions from the pardon and the aldermen's returns mention a number of London servants and apprentices. Occupational descriptions given to identify wanted rebels more precisely sometimes indicate poorer working men. There were some porters, such as the Irishman Robert Blanchard and William Blunt of Billingsgate. The rioters also included a few tinkers and *travelyngmen*, one of whom, John Young of Hereford, was excluded from the amnesty, but nevertheless enlisted in the army commanded by the Bishop of Norwich in Flanders in 1383.[61] John Webb was a falconer of Robert Hales, Prior of the Hospitallers and Treasurer of England. He single-mindedly victimised his master and his order during the rising, participating in the burning of the Hospitallers' headquarters at Clerkenwell and their manor at Highbury, and finally helping to put Hales to death.[62]

The adventures of Thomas Bunny and Richard Scot provide some memento of the lives of these obscure masses of Londoners. Thomas Bunny was a sheathmaker and was excluded from the general pardon to the rebels. In 1366, he had brought a bill before the mayor and aldermen,[63] which recited how he had been bound as an apprentice sheather to Thomas Rose and explained how this apprenticeship had run into all too common difficulties. Rose sold his estate in his apprenticeship to a Southwark brothel keeper.

She set Bunny to such menial work as carrying water. While thus employed, he fell down stairs and sustained permanent injury. Joan's pimp, Bernard, frequently beat the hapless apprentice. He eventually fell ill because of this treatment, and was thrown out. When he had sufficiently recovered to undertake some light work, Joan attempted to reclaim him. The mayor's court released Bunny from his contract to her. A connection with the low life of the city is suggested, too, by the enterprises of Richard Scot, a hosier. In 1371, he was imprisoned after cheating John Green, a servant of John Ellesworth, out of 40*s* of his master's money in a game of dice. Scot and his accomplice, John Godstone, were released after repaying 16*s* to Ellesworth.[64] In 1382, this fourteenth century hustler was busy again; he separated two Scotsmen from their money by the use of false dice and *jonkerie* (sleight of hand). He was arraigned before the mayor and aldermen and assigned to the pillory.[65] At the time of the second offence, he was one of the 'leaders, inciters and principals' of the 'misdeeds by the commons' who were denied any pardon and were being sought by the king's bench.[66]

The 'enfranchised and organised population of gildsmen' did not stand aloof from the rebels.[67] Some leading members of the smaller gilds of craftsmen joined them. The rising found particular favour amongst the clothing crafts. Seven London weavers were excluded from the amnesty, but were eventually pardoned in 1387 at the behest of the mayor. Amongst them was William Pygas, master of the gild of English weavers in 1391.[68] In 1376, 'the best men of the mistery of fullers' presented one of their routine complaints about the use of their mills by cappers and illicit competition from non-citizens.[69] They included William Cawse and Richard Skeat, both implicated in the revolt.[70] Skeat became master of the fullers only four months after the rising, and represented the fullers in common council during his year of office.[71] In 1364, John Norfolk, a tailor, was appointed to examine aspiring practitioners of his craft.[72] In 1381, he was amongst those returned by the alderman of Aldgate ward as 'suspected of consenting with the men of Kent and Essex' and 'of ill fame'. He was nevertheless a common councilman during the following year and again in 1384.[73]

Two leading members of small crafts not connected with textiles were bailed out of prison immediately after the revolt, following indictments before Walworth's commission. Walter West had been a sub-collector of the second poll tax in Aldgate ward and, in 1391, was master of the blacksmiths.[74] John Blackthorn was one of the leatherdyers sworn in 1372 to supervise the implementation of regulations for the working of calf leather.[75] Two masters of the butchers' gilds also played a part in the turmoil. While prosecutions by Gaunt and Butterwick concerning the revolt were pending against John Sampson, he was master of the butchers of East Cheap.[76] Thomas Clerk of Aldgate Street had been master of the butchers of the Stocks in 1377, was nominated as a common councilman by the butchers soon after the revolt and, in 1385, was one of the residents of Portsoken ward summoned to discuss defence measures. Despite these respectable positions, his attitude to authority could be unruly. He had been imprisoned after abusing tax collectors.[77] This streak in his character was prominent again in 1381, when he was indicted before both King's Bench and Walworth's commission as one of the assailants of the Savoy and Clerkenwell Priory. He had to wait two years before he was pardoned.[78]

A number of other relatively prosperous citizens can also be found amongst the rebels. Geoffrey Hadham had travelled abroad in 1376, presumably in connection with his trade as a spicer; five years later, he was said to have been one of the mob at the Savoy and Clerkenwell priory.[79] When Nicholas Exton, mayor of London, Brembre's and Philipot's ally against Northampton, died, he left two children; for a period their guardian was John

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Cockaigne, chief baron of the Exchequer. One of the sureties for Cockaigne's discharge of this office was Richard Forster, saddler, an erstwhile outlaw and rebel.[80] John Creek was prosecuted as an insurgent by Butterwick. He later developed into a clubbable member of the merchant taylors' gild, without holding any office. He collected money to purchase land adjoining the site of Merchant Taylors' Hall, and was entrusted with the delivery of some money bequeathed to the gild.[81] He died in early 1413. He left land and shops in the parish of St Mary Abchurch, with a rent in Lombard Street purchased from Sir Nicholas Brembre, to his widow. He gave money to his daughter, each of his grandchildren and his kinsman, William Creek. It is, however, his extensive charitable bequests which testify to his prosperity. These were of a conventional character. Amongst the more noteworthy was a contribution of ten pounds towards a new belfry for St Mary Abchurch. He also provided money for the erection of almshouses for poorer members of the merchant taylors' gild and gave a pound to the alms of the valet tailors.[82] John Salman, a taverner who had been excluded from the pardon to the rebels, was also able to afford a similar range of gifts in his will in 1388.[83]

The support for the revolt in London was broadly based. It encompassed all those classes outside the oligarchy of the wealthiest merchants, from masters of small crafts to casual labourers. The tensions which generated such enthusiasm for the revolt are obscure. There were fierce factional struggles in the government of the City shortly after the rising, and it is tempting to suggest that these reflected the same grievances which encouraged Londoners to join the rebels. Little is known, however, about the origins of these party conflicts. They were focussed on the man elected as mayor in 1381, John of Northampton. Much of his support came from London craftsmen, but party lines were blurred and complex. There were attacks on the rich merchants who dominated civic government, with great hostility towards those controlling the victualling trades. The importance of small craftsmen in both the revolt and Northampton's party is very striking. It would be dangerous, however, to identify directly the rebel sympathisers with Northampton's supporters. The less prosperous victuallers, such as the butchers and brewers, joined the revolt. They were later amongst Northampton's most virulent opponents.[84] There was even a direct strike against Northampton's party during the rising. In 1376, they had secured some ordinances against the monopolies of the London victuallers, which were recorded in a document called the Jubilee Book. One poor brewer, Walter Key, attempted during the revolt to burn this book.[85] Northampton's great adversary after the revolt was Nicholas Brembre. As Brembre rode with the king to meet the rebels at Mile End, William Trueman berated him for injuries he had suffered during his mayoralty. Nevertheless, as a brewer, Trueman's sympathies would not automatically have lain with Northampton in later years.[86] In order to illustrate the complex and varied background to the involvement of Londoners in the revolt, it is necessary to examine in detail some of the smaller incidents there.

The rebels' victims

Chesterton described the vendetta of the rebels against lawyers as 'a comprehensible and (relatively) even commendable course'.[87] Closer examination of the victims of this campaign in London shows that it was not entirely indiscriminate. The hand of Londoners and those from immediately around the city can be detected in the selection of targets. On 13 June, Roger Legat was dragged from the high altar of St Martin le Grand and beheaded in Cheapside. On the same day, houses belonging to him in the parish of St Andrew Holborn

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were burnt.[88] The Anonimalle chronicle characterises him as a *graunt cisour* and *questmanger*. Questmongers were those who sat frequently on juries and 'for a little money or else for a good dinner will save a thief and damn a true man'.[89] Legat was a successful and prosperous lawyer, whose property in Holborn included the two messuages which afterwards formed the site of Barnard's Inn and tenements almost enclosing the Bishop of Chichester's inn.[90] He had been a frequent witness to Holborn deeds for 20 years.[91] He ostentatiously employed two private chaplains, the only person in London reported as doing so in the clerical poll tax of 1379.[92] A dispute over his lands around Chichester Inn conveys a hint of his character.[93] In 1373, he dug a ditch between his lands and those of the bishop, who protested that the foundations of his buildings had been undermined. Legat sharply replied that his excavations had not caused the damage, but 'that the bishop's buildings were so weak and badly roofed that they had succumbed to the wind and rain'. Legat then set mantraps at the bottom of his ditch. The clerks of Chancery and apprentices of the law complained to the king's council that these proved hazardous when they played their 'common games' in Fiketts Field (the modern Lincoln's Inn Fields). After confessing his fault and malice, Legat was imprisoned in the Fleet for two years.[94] These were the actions of a querulous and unscrupulous man. His wife, Emma, seems to have been equally grasping. Legat's brief will was compiled only on the afternoon of the day of his death. It left his body to be buried 'where God shall will' and the reversion of some property to St Andrew's Holborn. This document was declared false, apparently at Emma's instigation. Seven years later, her second husband confessed that this had been Legat's true will.[95]

The privations of John Butterwick during the revolt have already been mentioned.[96] Butterwick was closely associated with Legat. They were frequently linked as witnesses in charters,[97] and Butterwick received the reversion of Legat's Holborn property of 'Paternoster Rents'.[98] Like Legat, Butterwick was a lawyer, and was for many years under-sheriff of Middlesex.[99] The two London sheriffs were responsible for this county, but left an unusual amount of the official business to the under-sheriff.[100] Butterwick could expect such conventional emoluments as the refeshments provided by the monks of Westminster. On one occasion, they served Butterwick and his clerk with an eleven-shilling feast of lamb, veal, poultry, pigeon and wine.[101] But Butterwick was not satisfied with such perquisites. In 1355, it was claimed that he and others had interfered with judicial proceedings in Middlesex on a wide scale, packing juries with their accomplices and ensuring that the party which gave them most money was successful. It was alleged that for three years

> the poor and weak of the aforesaid county, to whom sundry wrongs were done . . . did not dare and still do not dare to claim or prosecute their rights and plaints in the king's court or elsewhere, but have endured countless wrongs from day to day which go unpunished on account of the maintenance of these fellows, and sometimes they took money from both parties and did little or nothing.[102]

1381 was a dangerous time for men connected with Butterwick and Legat. John Shoreditch, who was at various times MP for Middlesex and a justice of the peace there,[103] was prominently linked with them in land transactions.[104] He and Butterwick were appointed with Thomas Brakington to 'survey and control' the assessment of the third poll tax in Middlesex.[105] He was probably related to Nicholas Shoreditch, who was amongst those maintainers indicted with Butterwick in 1355. On 12 June 1381, a gang of rebels visited him. They intimated that he would be killed and his house burnt if he did not give

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them money when they came back the next day. When they returned, he handed over 40 marks.[106] William Hull was concerned in the establishment of a trust to hold Butterwick's lands, and also bought property from Butterwick. His house at Westminster was attacked during the rising.[107] Andrew Tettesworth, a brewer, witnessed the grant of 'Paternoster Rents' to Legat (with reversion to Butterwick).[108] He was one of the poll tax collectors supervised by Butterwick and Shoreditch in 1380.[109] Houses belonging to him in Westminster also fell victim to rebel incendiarism.[110] Stephen Maynard was another colleague of Butterwick and Legat as a witness to charters, and served on juries with Legat.[111] He shared the social diversions of his friends, being indicted in 1378 for manipulating the verdicts of juries and promoting fraudulent lawsuits.[112] Some of the rebels who burnt the Hospitallers' manor at Highbury went on to Highgate in order to give Maynard's property there similar treatment. His houses in West Smithfield were also burnt.[113]

Butterwick and Legat belonged to a closely-knit and unsavoury group prominent in the government of Middlesex. This cabal was singled out for attention during the revolt. It was not simply that they were all lawyers and officials and likely to suffer together at a time when there was a general hostility against their kind. The rebels went out of their way to strike against them. They made an excursion to Ebury and Knightsbridge to destroy Butterwick's houses and took another special trip to Highgate to attack Maynard's property. One rebel captain, William Bysouth of Ruislip, apparently concentrated his efforts against this group. He was considered a sufficiently important rebel for a large band of men to be specially commanded to capture him after the rising. According to the indictment against him in King's Bench, he directed his men to attack Legat and Shoreditch.[114] His hatred of Legat and his associates may have stemmed from the involvement of Butterwick in a commission ordered to arrest him in 1374.[115]

King Richard's first parliament reaffirmed previous legislation against maintenance and instituted inquiries into these abuses. Accordingly, in London on 20 November 1378, juries before the mayor and aldermen laid charges against those who had paid litigants to prosecute malicious lawsuits during the preceding two years.[116] The men indicted included some who were afterwards victims of the revolt and others who participated in it. These indictments further illustrate the involvement of Londoners in the rising. They suggest how the background to a particular individual's role could be complex and ambivalent. A man might be unpopular with the rebels for different reasons. The earlier careers of some of the rebels could be incongruous. On the day when the King met Tyler at Smithfield, John Kirton and others burst into the house there of Henry Bosley, a horse-dealer.[117] They abducted five horses belonging to Robert Hales. They were presumably more intent on seizing Hales' property than harming Bosley. Some of them, however, may have remembered that Bosley had been accused of maintenance in 1378, when he was alleged to have sponsored a fraudulent claim by two of his neighbours that they had been forcibly dispossessed, and to have procured a false verdict against the rector of St Anne and St Agnes. He was supported in these enterprises by Stephen Maynard, the friend of Butterwick and Legat. John Greenfield, as a squire of the Duke of Lancaster, was a marked man in 1381. He further endangered himself by eulogising Brother William Appleton, a physician in John of Gaunt's service killed by the rebels on Tower Hill with Sudbury and Hales. Greenfield, too, was seized and beheaded.[118] It is impossible to say whether his death was expedited by the accusations against him in 1378, which claimed that he maintained a plea of contract between John Stapledon, another squire, and a skinner, John Myte.

It is surprising to find that Greenfield was joined in this act of maintenance by Walter

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Taunton, a saddler. Taunton was afterwards named in the return of the alderman of Lime Street as a rebel and was excluded from the general pardon. Walter Payne, a girdler, was indicted in the King's Bench as one of the pillagers of the Savoy and Clerkenwell Priory.[119] It was said in 1378 that he had accepted money from another girdler, Richard Walshale, to prosecute a suit of trespass against John Northampton, a corder. Payne and Taunton are reminders of the dangers of oversimplifying the motivation of single rebels. The Peasants' Revolt cannot be seen in terms of individual issues. Moreover, such topics as maintenance could present complex ethical questions. A poor litigant might accept maintenance to ensure that he would vanquish a powerful opponent. In similar circumstances, the provision of maintenance could be a useful tactic against a substantial adversary. If others started cases against him, he would be forced to divert resources to deal with them. J. R. Maddicott has characterised the legal system at this time as an 'amorphous world where bribery and corruption merged imperceptibly with backstairs influence and the traditional exercise of patronage'.[120] In this atmosphere, the distinction between maintenance as a perversion of justice and a means of ensuring that right prevailed was blurred. It would have been difficult for the rebels to sustain an indiscriminate hostility against maintainers.

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Private revenges

While the city was in chaos, a number of Londoners energetically pursued personal grudges. One such dispute dated from 1361, when Sir Robert Allen, a fishmonger, leased tenements near Billingsgate in Thames Street to John Blake for a term of ten years. He afterwards assigned the rent due to him from this property to Ralph Morden, who in his turn granted it to another fishmonger, Hugh Ware. Allen confirmed the transfer to Ware and also agreed that Ware himself should take over the property for two years when the lease expired. In 1382, Allen complained that Ware was still occupying the property 11 years after he had received it. Hearings in City courts proved inconclusive, and the case was called into Chancery for review.[121]

Allen, however, had made an earlier attempt to evict Ware. On 14 June 1381, he induced some Kentish rebels to follow him to Ware's house at Queenhithe. They seized all the documents in Ware's custody concerning the disputed property, presumably in order to prevent Ware ever substantiating any claim to it.[122] Another case suggests that Allen was active in the City on the following day. The Prior of St Mary without Bishopsgate initiated an action of debt against Allen, which concerned loans and victuals supplied to him and his wife since 1376. The last loan mentioned was 6*s* 8*d* paid to Allen through Thomas Tomlin, chaplain, on 15 June 1381. Whether this payment was voluntary is not clear.[123]

Amongst the rebels who rushed into the abbey of St Mary Graces on 14 June were Nicholas Witley and Robert Hull.[124] Like Allen, Hull and Witley were settling old scores. Hull was a veteran sea-captain who had been in royal service.[125] In the 1350s, he had been master of the king's ship *la Isabelle* and had been granted land, wardships and the custody of a fishery for his loyal service. Witley had been a royal huntsman.[126] They were both citizens of London and lived in the parish of All Hallows Barking. Hull lived on the north side of Petty Wales, the 'home of wharfingers, seamen and shipbuilders'. Amongst the land granted to him by Edward III was a messuage nearby. In 1371, he had goods worth more than £40 in the parish. Witley represented Tower ward on the common council in 1384. The recently founded abbey of St Mary Graces stood nearby, in East Smithfield.[127] Its precincts comprised lands to the east of Tower Hill and St Katharine's Hospital and to the south of the present Royal Mint Street, an area of desolate mudflats where the monks

undertook extensive reclamation works, which were probably already in progress by 1381. This reclamation would have affected the use of nearby properties, and may have annoyed their owners. The monastery also rapidly acquired small pieces of land in this locality after 1369. The antagonism of Hull and Witley probably stemmed from disputes with the abbey over these developments. They used the rising to press property claims against the abbot. He was forced to grant some of the monastery's tenements to Witley, Hull and other insurgents, to be held jointly with one of the monks.

Such incidents are often presented as opportunistic and unrelated to the general social and political aims of the rebels. But these clashes mostly concerned frustrated claims in lawsuits and property disputes, making it difficult to distinguish these affairs from the attacks on maintainers and corrupt lawyers, since both derived from feelings that justice had been prevented or perverted. Moreover, in such mainstream incidents as the burning of the Savoy or Clerkenwell Priory, some rebels were acting directly on personal grievances.

In November 1382, Nigel Taylor of Holborn addressed a bill of complaint to John of Gaunt, which stated that Roger Galliard of Holborn had been a leader of the insurgents and rode with a great rabble to Savoy and Clerkenwell.[128] Galliard had been pardoned, but he and his wife had brazenly declared that they would gladly spend a hundred pounds of the money they had gained at the Savoy and Clerkenwell to revenge themselves on their 'poor but loyal' neighbours. Taylor also laid his complaint before the mayor and aldermen, who summoned a jury to test the allegations. They found that Galliard had not been a principal leader of the rebels, neither had he been at the Savoy. He had gone to Clerkenwell Priory with other malefactors and had stolen a missal, a side of bacon and some papal bulls. These had later been returned to officials of the house.

Galliard had an unlikely background for a supporter of the revolt. His father, Galliard Pete, still alive in 1381, had connections with Roger Legat. They had, for instance, been the executors of Simon Finchingfield.[129] Galliard Pete held a tenement in Holborn, immediately to the east of the second Lincoln's Inn, on the site of the modern Dyer's Buildings, between Cursitor Street and Holborn.[130] The second Lincoln's Inn was founded by a king's serjeant, Thomas Lincoln, and was sold to the Abbot of Malmesbury. The abbot extended his holdings by buying property to the east and west, and in 1379 purchased the reversion of Galliard Pete's tenement after death of Roger and his father. The chief lords of the Galliard tenement were, however, the Hospitallers, who received an annual rent from it. The willingness of Roger Galliard to ride to Clerkenwell in 1381 may perhaps be largely explained by this rent.[131]

Conclusions

Rudé has observed how, in the later stages of a pre-industrial revolt, 'the entry of new social elements might change its whole direction'.[132] The legal records suggest that, while the Peasants' Revolt may not have completely changed direction by the time it reached London, it had become more nebulous. The bands from Kent and Essex were small and relatively well defined. They were not entirely representative of the participants in the earlier troubles in those counties. They had a significant urban content and were often fired by local grievances. As they approached London, they were joined by a very mixed bunch of inhabitants of the countryside around the City. When they entered the City, there was a massive insurrection of the Londoners themselves, drawing on almost every element of London society. All these groups shared a general anti-establishment pre-

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judice, and joined in attacks on the most unpopular and prominent members of the ruling class. Below this level, the disturbances dissolved into local and personal vindictiveness.

One recurrent theme, however, appears to be a demand for justice. This is a familiar motif in medieval society. It permeates the thousands of petitions which survive from this period. Concepts of justice were often crude; the public and private aspects of justice were often confused. Justice was taken as meaning not only a fair judicial and administrative system, but also the recognition of one's own claims, however doubtful. The mixture of general protest and private enmity in the Peasants' Revolt in London seems to reflect a similar attitude of mind. The clearest manifestations of this search for justice were the pursuit of property disputes and the assaults on corrupt lawyers. The victimisation of such men as Gaunt, Sudbury and Hales was a further development of this theme. They were regarded as depraving the government of the realm and rendering it oppressive. The most sophisticated expression of the preoccupation with justice occurred in the demands by Wat Tyler at Smithfield. These mixed prosaic judicial reforms with radical social aims. He asked for outlawry to be abolished, then in the same breath declared that there should be no lordship save that of the king. He attempted to deal with both the most abused features of the judicial system and the social obstacles which prevented small men effectively prosecuting their 'rights'. The spirit of 1381 is epitomised not, however, in the speeches ascribed to Tyler, but in the words attributed to Thomas Farringdon, who 'bore the surname of one of the most famous of the medieval London families'. As he grabbed the reins of the king's horse at Mile End, he complained that Robert Hales had wronged him in a property dispute and shouted:

> Revenge me on that false traitor the prior, for he has falsely and fraudulently seized my tenements; do right justice to my case and deign to restore my tenements to me; otherwise, know that I am strong enough to do justice on my own account and to secure my possession and entry into those tenements.[133]

NOTES

I am very grateful to Mr W. Kellaway and Dr J. B. Post for reading a draft of this paper at very short notice. Dr Post has also provided generous guidance on the documentation of the Peasants' Revolt. An earlier version of this paper was read at Dr Caroline Barron's seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, and members of the seminar made a number of helpful criticisms. Unless otherwise stated, all unpublished documents are in the Public Record Office.

1 *Short History of England* (1917), 1–5, 81–2, 122–6, 138–40.
2 G. Rudé, *The Crowd in History* (1964), 6–10, 195–212; and *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1959), 1–9.
3 G. Rudé, 'The Gordon Riots: A Study of the Rioters and Their Victims', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser. VI (1956), 93–114.
4 The principal chronicle accounts are collected together in R. B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (1970).
5 *Vox Clamantis*, Lib. I line 1183, in G. C. Macaulay, ed., *Complete Works of John Gower* (Oxford, 1899–1902), IV, 55.
6 *E.g.* Dobson, 156, 169, 183, 188.
7 *E.g. ibid.*, 186; cf. 361, 386–7.
8 He says that Tyler, Straw and Ball led the group who refused to leave London after Mile End: Dobson, 192.
9 It alone states that Tyler was the rebel spokesman at Mile End and stresses his responsibility for the attack on the Tower: Dobson, 161.

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10 The judicial records will be discussed more thoroughly in my Ph.D. thesis, in preparation. I am hoping to prepare a new edition of judicial records of the revolt.
11 The commission is enrolled on Patent Roll 4 Richard II part 3: C 66/310, m.4d (cf. *Calendar of Patent Rolls* [*C.P.R.*] *1381–5*, p. 23). It granted sweeping judicial powers, such as authority to determine cases 'according to the law and custom of England and also according to your discretion'. It was issued on 15 June. Presentments were being heard on 17 June: *Coram Rege* rolls, KB 27/488, *rex* m.23, summarised by A. Réville, *Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381* (Paris, 1898), p. 209. These commissioners were also separately granted military powers to resist the rebels: C 66/310, m.5 (Réville, 234–5; *C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 18).
12 Corporation of London Record Office [CLRO], Husting of Common Pleas Rolls, no. 106, courts on 29 July 1381, 21 Oct. 1381, 2 Dec. 1381, 8 Jan. 1382, 17 Mar. 1382.
13 A. H. Thomas, ed., *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda Rolls* [*C.P.M.R.*], *1364–81* (Cambridge, 1929), 288–91.
14 *Ibid.*, 300–2.
15 *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 112–3.
16 Common Pleas rolls, CP 40/490, mm.252–252d, 458; CP 40/491, m.223.
17 *E.g.* the king's bench indictment against William Plomer of Greenwich mentions only the Savoy and Clerkenwell Priory: KB 27/484, *rex* m.1 (Réville, 202, who refers to *lettres d'évocation* not mentioned in the record). Private prosecutions implicate him in other attacks on Andrew Tettesworth and John Butterwick: KB 27/489, mm. 1d, 55d.
18 *E.g.* the actions of Andrew Tettesworth apparently draw extensively on both indictments and trespass prosecutions by John Butterwick, but no clear pattern of interdependence emerges: KB 27/489, mm.1d, 55, 63d, 71.
19 KB 27/488, *rex* m.6 (partly printed by Réville, 190–9); R. Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (1949), 56–61; B. Wilkinson, 'The Peasants' Revolt of 1381', *Speculum*, XV (1940), 12–35.
20 An indictment dates the murder of William Brag as 18 June 1381: KB 27/486, *rex* m.5 (Réville, 40–1). In an appeal, Brag's widow says it occurred on 10 Dec. 1381: KB 27/483, m.40.
21 *E.g. C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 272; KB 27/485, *rex* m.30 (Robert Cave of Dartford); KB 27/488, *rex* m.25 (John Bettes of Wymondham).
22 6 Ric. II Stat. 2 caps. 4–5. Examples of use of this procedure are: KB 27/487, m.41d; CP 40/495, m.340.
23 *E.g.* in one trespass action, the Prior of the Hospitallers describes the razing of Clerkenwell Priory and his manor at Highbury thus: 'that with force and arms he broke the close and houses of the said prior at Highbury and Clerkenwell, burned his charters, writings, court rolls and other muniments, took and carried away his goods and chattels worth £40, and did him other enormities, against the king's peace': CP 40/490, m.1d.
24 KB 27/488, mm.22d, 29d; KB 27/489, mm.1d, 18d, 31, 55d, 63, 71; KB 27/496, m.30d; CP 40/490, m.78d. These incidents are also mentioned in indictments (e.g. KB 27/485, *rex* m.28d: Réville, 212) and in V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The Anonimalle Chronicle 1333–1381* (2nd ed; Manchester, 1970), 142–3, 195.
25 The Manningtree rebels are named by Butterwick. See also KB 27/485, *rex* m.5; KB 27/502, *rex* m.13 (Réville, 216–7), and the returns of a commission of inquiry on the King's Bench *Recorda* file for 5 Richard II: KB 145/3/5/1, unnumbered membranes. They repeatedly protested their innocence, but were contradicted by both confessions and commissions of inquiry. Their protests seem to have been aroused by Harding's tactics in prosecuting them: *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, V (1387–93), no. 314; *Cal. of Close Rolls* [*C.C.R.*] 1389–92, pp. 58–60, 520; Ancient Petitions, SC 8/113/5360, SC 8/299/14919, SC 8/21/1031 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 275; *C.C.R. 1392–6*, p. 257), SC 8/249/12439.
26 *C.P.R. 1364–7*, pp. 40–1; *C.C.R. 1374–7*, p. 199; *C.C.R. 1381–5*, p. 365; *Rot. Parl.*, III, 288; *C.C.R. 1392–6*, p. 261; KB 145/3/6/1.
27 The Chelmsford rebels occur in Butterwick's prosecutions. Information on them was kindly

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supplied by Miss Hilda Grieve. The chief pledges were Robert Baker and Thomas Ostler. The tax collector was William Prentice: *Cal. of Fine Rolls* [*C.F.R.*], X (1383–91), 18.

28 They were prosecuted by Butterwick. They also participated in an attack on the Princess of Wales's manor at North Weald: CP 40/487, mm.35, 530; CP 40/488, m.102; CP 40/492, mm.301, 304d; CP 40/493, m.307.

29 *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, IV, 405, 511; *C.P.R. 1374–7*, p. 28; cf. *VCH Essex*, IV, 284.

30 They occur in one of Gaunt's actions: CP 40/490, m.458.

31 They included John Clerk and his son Walter, Ralph Essex, John Hadstoke, William Huberd and John Avenant. For information about them and the condition of Thaxted, see K. C. Newton, *Thaxted in the Fourteenth Century* (Chelmsford, 1960). On Avenant, Essex and John Clerk, see also *C.P.R. 1370–4*, p. 200; R. Fowler *et al.* ed., *Essex Feet of Fines 1327–1422* (Essex Archaeolgical Soc., 1929–49), 141, 198, 239.

32 *VCH Hertfordshire*, III, 380–3.

33 B. H. Putnam, *The Enforcement of the Statute of Labourers, 1349–1359* (New York, 1908), 406*–7*; *Proceedings Before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Ames Foundation, 1938), lxxiv, cxxv–vi; *The Place in Legal History of Sir William Shareshull* (Cambridge, 1950), 148, 281.

34 CP 40/490, m.489.

35 CP 40/491, m.358d; KB 27/485, *rex* m.21d (Réville, 38); CP 40/484, m.428; CP 40/486, m.169; CP 40/487, m.390; CP 40/490, m.517.

36 *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 222.

37 *C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 409; KB 27/490, *rex* m.20 (Réville, 185–6); complete text of appeal of John Baker of Deptford: KB 145/3/5/1.

38 Dobson, 94–5; *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 403.

39 *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 457; *C.C.R. 1381–5*, p. 75–6.

40 KB 145/3/5/1. The rest of Bennett's appeal raises doubts about his credibility, but his allegations against Wooton seem to be corroborated by the orders for the recovery of Wooton's wages: KB 27/483, *rex* m.27 (Dobson, 321–2; Réville, lviii); KB 27/482, *rex* m.39d (Réville, 201); cf. KB 27/476, *rex* m.8.

41 *C.C.R. 1385–9*, pp. 60–1. Rockacre was prosecuted by Gaunt, and Stork by both Gaunt and Butterwick.

42 *C.C.R. 1381–5*, pp. 220, 244. Bladington was named by both Gaunt and Butterwick and appealed by John Baker: KB 27/482, *rex* m.36 (Réville, 205).

43 *C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 409. For Herring, see *e.g. C.P.R. 1374–7*, p. 199; *C.P.R. 1377–81*, pp. 15, 177, 574; *C.C.R. 1369–74*, pp. 418, 496; *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 522.

44 *C.C.R. 1374–7*, p. 483; *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, III (1348–77), no. 1041. Nash and Boyne were defendants in the actions of both Gaunt and Butterwick.

45 *C.C.R. 1369–74*, pp. 29, 103; *C.F.R.*, VIII (1369–77), 170; *C.P.R. 1370–4*, p. 410; *C.P.R. 1374–7*, p. 381; *C.P.R. 1377–8*, p. 614; *C.F.R.*, IX (1377–83), 281; *C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 204; *C.F.R.*, X (1383–91), 348. Prosecuted as a rebel by Butterwick.

46 These Wandsworth and Tooting men appear in an action by Gaunt: CP 40/490, mm.252–252d.

47 Westminster Abbey Muniments, 1824A.

48 *Ibid.*, 1737.

49 *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 345.

50 G. L. Gomme, ed., *Court Rolls of Tooting Beck Manor* (1909), I, 4, 14, 146, 180, 196, 202 (for Tubbing); 8–10, 70–4, 80–2, 122, 156, 202 (for Pikestone).

51 *Ibid.*, 144.

52 *Ibid.*, 60, 68, 78, 80.

53 *C.F.R.*, IX (1377–83), 340; *C.F.R.*, X (1383–91), 74; *C.F.R.*, XI (1391–9), 267. On Torksey and Kent, see also *Cal. of Ancient Deeds*, I, 433 (C 485) and II, 37 (A 2088). Kent and Torksey were prosecuted by Gaunt. Kent was also accused of insurgency by both Butterwick and John

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Salisbury, a glazier whose house in the parish of St Bride's was attacked on 13 June: KB 27/489, m.16d. Torksey was also said to have helped destroy Andrew Tettesworth's houses: KB 27/489, m.71. Neville was prosecuted by Butterwick and Tettesworth, and indicted in King's Bench: KB 27/489, *rex* m.18 (Réville, 211). Note, however, that his pardon says that his enemies were responsible for his indictment.

54 *C.F.R.*, IX (1377–83), 231. Prosecuted by Tettesworth: KB 27/489, m.71. Also bound over to keep the peace: *C.P.M. 1364–81*, p. 300. See also *C.C.R. 1389–92*, pp. 195, 200.

55 See *e.g.* British Library, Add. Charter 1813 and Harley Charters 76. C. 50 and 78. B. 50; *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 126; *C.C.R. 1385–9*, pp. 454–5; D. Harrison, 'The Surrey Portion of the Lewes Cartulary', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XLIII (1935), 96. Mocking appears in the actions of both Gaunt and Butterwick.

56 *C.P.R. 1367–70*, p. 475; cf. T. F. Kirby ed., *Wykeham's Register*, II, Hampshire Rec. Soc., XIII (1899), 303–4. See also e.g. *C.C.R. 1349–52*, p. 625; *C.C.R. 1346–9*, p. 164; *C.C.R. 1360–4*, p. 113; *C.C.R. 1364–8*, p. 398; *C.F.R.*, VIII (1369–77), 250.

57 A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), 407–8; G. R. Corner, 'A Collection of Ancient Wills, & co., relating to Southwark', *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, I (1858), 194.

58 CP 40/495, m.176d. Ansell was prosecuted by both Gaunt and Butterwick, and also implicated in the attack on John Salisbury: KB 27/489, m.16d.

59 E.g. *C.C.R. 1377–81*, pp. 126, 240; *C.C.R. 1385–9*, p. 460; *C.C.R. 1389–92*, pp. 541, 552; *C.P.R. 1392–6*, p. 356. Other associates of this group prosecuted by both Gaunt and Butterwick were John Abbot, a cordwainer, and Alan Tyler. I am grateful to Miss Martha Carlim for assistance in identifying these Southwark insurgents.

60 R. H. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free* (1973), 195.

61 *C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 224.

62 KB 145/3/5/1.

63 *C.P.M. 1364–81*, p. 54.

64 *Ibid.*, 130.

65 R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H* [*L.B.H.*] (1907), 174–5; H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life* (1868), 457.

66 KB 27/487, *rex* mm.3d, 5, 6, 11, 11d for orders to arrest those excluded from the pardon. Scot was also named in the return of the alderman of Langbourne ward: *C.P.M. 1364–81*, p. 289.

67 *Cf.* Hilton, 188.

68 *L.B.H.*, 315, 369. He was also listed in the return of the alderman of Langbourne ward.

69 *L.B.H.*, 37.

70 Cawse was excluded from the pardon and Skeat mainprised to appear before justices at Newgate in July 1381: *C.P.M. 1364–81*, p. 301.

71 *L.B.H.*, 171; A. H. Thomas, ed., *Cal. of Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London, 1381–1412* [*C.P.M.*] (Cambridge, 1932), 30.

72 R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Cal. of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book G* [*L.B.G.*] (1905), 162.

73 *C.P.M. 1381–1412*, pp. 30, 87; *L.B.H.*, 238.

74 *L.B.H.*, 130, 369.

75 *L.B.G.*, 293.

76 *L.B.H.*,97.

77 *L.B.H.*, 61, 270; *C.P.M. 1364–81*, p. 135; *C.P.M. 1381–1412*, p. 30.

78 KB 27/489, *rex* m.2 (Réville, 201); *C.P.M. 1364–81*, p. 301.

79 *C.P.R. 1374–7*, p. 334; KB 145/3/5/1.

80 R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Cal. of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book I* [*L.B.I.*] (1909), 16, 24.

81 H. L. Hopkinson, *History of the Site of the Merchant Taylors' Hall* (1913), 35; C. M. Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors* (1875), 65.

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82 Guildhall Library [GL], Register of Wills of the Archdeaconry Court of London, Reg. 1, MS 9051/1, ff.308v–309v; R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Cal. of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, 1258–1688* (1889–90), II, 403 (where some bequests are omitted), 417; Clode, 277–8, 517, 524.
83 GL, Reg. of Wills in the Commissary Court of London, Reg. 1, MS 9171/1, f.189.
84 Bird, 116–7.
85 KB 27/482, *rex* m.43 (Réville, 206; Dobson, 226–8); KB 27/512, *rex* m.16d.
86 KB 27/482, *rex* m.39 (Réville, 207).
87 *Chaucer* (1932), 42.
88 *Anonimalle Chronicle*, 142, 195; KB 27/483, *rex* m.23 (Réville, 202); KB 27/489, *rex* m.21 (Réville, 203).
89 W. O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons*, Early English Text Soc., Original Ser. 209 (1940), 174 lines 17–19.
90 E. Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (1927) nos. 569, 661, 1021–3, 1026, 1062, 1071, 1532.
91 *E.g.*, *ibid.*, nos. 440–2, 502, 555–6, 1263–4.
92 A McHardy, ed., *The Church in London 1375–1392*, London Record Soc., XIII (1977), 4 no. 18; *cf.* p. 17 no. 119.
93 *C.P.M. 1364–81*, p. 175; Williams, no. 1547.
94 Williams, nos. 38, 1548; cf. *C.C.R. 1374–7*, pp. 210–1.
95 GL, MS/9171/1, f.107v; Williams, nos. 1062–3. It is remarkable that Legat, a lawyer, should not have made his will earlier. Did he, aware of his impending doom, decide at the last moment to make a bequest to St Andrew's Holborn, and quickly make a new will?
96 Butterwick was also known as John Doget of Butterwick: *e.g. C.C.R. 1385–9*, p. 484. Bird's identification of him with John, son of Walter Doget, sheriff of London during the revolt, (p. 62) is doubtful. Walter Doget's son had two wives, Idonia Birlingham and Alice. John Butterwick's wife Alice was already married to him in 1376, when Idonia Birlingham was still a ward: *Cal. of Wills in the Court of Husting*, II, 354; *L.B.H.*, 49; *C.C.R. 1374–7*, pp. 249–50. Moreover, Alice Butterwick was a widow before Walter Doget's son had died: *C.C.R. 1396–9*, p. 493.
97 *E.g.* Williams, nos. 992, 1713, 1716; *C.C.R. 1369–74*, p. 105; *cf. C.C.R. 1360–4*, pp. 397–8.
98 Williams, nos. 1585–6.
99 From probably as early as 1355 to 1387, when he was dismissed on the pretext that he was getting too old for the work: *L.B.H.*, 316–7; n. 102 below.
100 Under-sheriffs of Middlesex were, for example, often described as the sheriff of Middlesex: *e.g. C.P.R. 1370–4*, p.489; KB 27/518, Fines and Forfeitures, m.3; CLRO, Journals of the Court of Common Council, VI, f.184 (I owe this last reference to Dr Caroline Barron).
101 Westminster Abbey Muniments, 25311; *cf.* 25312.
102 G. O. Sayles, ed., *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, VI, Selden Soc. LXXXII (1965), 103–4.
103 *C.C.R. 1369–74*, p. 476; *C.C.R. 1374–7*, p. 429; *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 356; *C.C.R. 1381–5*, p. 107; *C.P.R. 1377–81*, p. 514.
104 *E.g. C.C.R. 1369–74*, p. 105; *C.C.R. 1374–7*, pp. 250, 256; *C.C.R. 1381–5*, p. 223; Williams, no. 1712.
105 *C.F.R.*, IX (1377–83), 230.
106 KB 145/3/5/1.
107 *C.C.R. 1374–7*, p. 256; *C.C.R. 1377–81*, p. 512; *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, I, 166 (A 1465 and 1468). CP 40/495, m.259.
108 Williams, no. 1585.
109 *C.F.R.*, IX (1377–83), 227; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 95, 161, for association with William Hull.
110 KB 27/483, *rex* m.23 (Réville, 202); *cf.* n. 18 above.
111 *E.g. C.C.R. 1364–8*, p. 387; Williams, nos. 627, 774, 1716.
112 *L.B.H.*, 112–3.

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113 KB 27/486, *rex* m.10d (Réville, 210); KB 27/494, *rex* m.32d (Réville, 209–10).
114 KB 145/3/5/1; *C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 72. Bysouth, arrested after the revolt, was hanged. One of his horses was delivered to the wardrobe for the use of the king's household: Exchequer, Accounts Various (Wardrobe and Household), E 101/400/11.
115 *C.P.R. 1370–4*, pp. 489, 491.
116 *L.B.H.*, 112–6.
117 KB 145/3/6/1.
118 *Anonimalle Chronicle*, 146; King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, KB 9/166/2, m.2 (printed by J. A. Sparvel-Bayly, 'Essex in Insurrection, 1381', *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* N.S. I (1878), 217.
119 KB 145/3/5/1.
120 J. R. Maddicott, *Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England, Past and Present Supplement* IV (1978), 2.
121 *C.P.M. 1381–1412*, pp. 38–9.
122 CP 40/490, m.444.
123 *C.P.M. 1381–1412*, pp. 47–9.
124 KB 27/483, *rex* mm.8d, 15d; E. Powell and G. M. Trevelyan, eds, *The Peasants' Rising and the Lollards* (1899), 17.
125 *C.C.R. 1354–60*, p. 381; *C.C.R. 1360–4*, p. 215; *C.P.R. 1354–8*, p. 281; *C.P.R. 1361–4*, p. 434; *C.P.R. 1367–70*, p. 159; *C.P.M. 1364–81*, pp. 133–4; *L.B.G.*, 189; *Rotuli Scotiae*, I, 925 and II, 12.
126 *C.P.R. 1374–7*, p. 162; *C.P.M. 1364–81*, pp. 140–2; *C.P.M. 1381–1412*, p. 85; *L.B.H.*, 237.
127 M. J. Honeybourne, 'The Abbey of Saint Mary Graces, Tower Hill', *Trans. of London & Middx. Arch. Soc.*, NS. XI (1952–4), 16–26; *VCH London*, I, 461–4.
128 *C.P.M. 1381–1412*, p. 37.
129 Williams, nos. 1106–7; *cf.* no. 1129.
130 *Ibid.*, nos. 1080–5, 1099–1114.
131 Galliard afterwards joined the Bishop of Norwich's expedition to Flanders: *C.P.R. 1381–5*, p. 326. He died in 1398. His will is copied in GL, MS 9171/2, f.69v.
132 *The Crowd in History* (1964), 207.
133 KB 27/488, *rex* m.6, printed in Réville, 195, and translated by Dobson, 219.

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